

INHERITANCE OF WIVES

583 Monogamy is the usual rule, but occasionally both polygyny and polyandry exist. If no women are available, a man may share his young wife with his brother or parallel cousin whom he calls brother also. I saw two such cases. In a tribe whose total membership may not exceed 150 such situations may easily arise.

587 The more common situation is the inheritance of wives. If a man
589 dies, his wife may be taken care of by her father, but more often by her former husband's brother. She takes her place as wife number two, especially if he is a good hunter. Other women whom a man may inherit as wives are his aunts on his father's side and even his paternal grandmother. I saw one case in which a man had inherited his daughter's child. Whether these cases represent the results of deculturation of the Yaruros in recent years, or pure necessity, it is impossible to say. It is worth noting that the taboo on marrying a member of one's moiety is strictly observed.

[616] Another relationship common among South American Indians which is present among the Yaruros is the hunting friendship between two men. Seldom does one meet a young Yaruro who does not have a hunting companion. Upon marriage this relationship may be weakened, though often the companionship persists. Generally the men are two parallel cousins. They show much affection toward each other, even in camp. For instance, such a pair standing with arms around each other's necks is a common sight. I have no reason to suspect any abnormal sexual relations between such couples.

124 An attempt was made to collect genealogies, but no satisfactory
582 results were obtained, due to the confusion that exists among the
[165] Yaruros. So many have suffered premature death, especially men, that the genealogies show a tremendous complexity. This complexity exists, of course, only for us. The Yaruro has his system, which is to guard against incest as he defines it. So long as members of the same moiety do not marry, everything else is permissible. One's cross cousin of the same, or nearly the same, age is the preferential choice, but the Yaruros cannot control birth and death, so that the preference is purely theoretical. I saw young boys married to old women and young girls married to old men. The answer was that there weren't any others to marry.

However, enough was gathered from the genealogies to verify the system as described: Members of the same moiety do not marry. Every one else can, except father and daughter, and, of course, father's brothers and daughter, whom she addresses as father anyway.

755 pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. 462 755 If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost. [593]

763 If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chicha and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her. 752 [841]

764 In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of: 765 775

[539] The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness. [787] 589

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591 RESIDENCE--prevailing rule governing the place of residence of a married couple (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, neolocal); existence of combined rules (e.g., alternating, bilocal, matri-patrilocal); occurrence of alternative rules under special circumstances; extent to which marriage normally involves the removal of bride or groom to another community (e.g., local exogamy, local endogamy); residence changes by children or unmarried adults (e.g., removal to home of grandparents or maternal uncle); residence changes made late in married life; evidence bearing upon former or current changes in residence rules; etc. See also:

Dwellings	342	Residence readjustments after divorce	586
Settlement patterns	361	Organisation of the community	621
Bride-service	583	Residence changes by widows and widowers . . .	768
Postmarital visits	585		

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educate and to assist him. However, his grandchildren belong to his own moiety and the children of his daughters will be born in this camp and will live with him until the boys are old enough to seek wives in the other moiety. The bonds linking these nephews, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren are morally strong and perhaps it explains why Kuma herself is thought of as being the grandmother of Hatchawa, rather than the mother. Several myths illustrate this uncle, nephew, grandfather, and grandchild relationship. It is curious to note that occasionally the uncle in these myths plays tricks on the nephew and may even be represented as being exceedingly wicked, but the grandfather is always benevolent.

• [591] The children of a man's sons are brought up in a different hunting group, since the boys will live with their wives' groups, and although these grandchildren belong to the same moiety, the old man's contact with them is rather limited. It is different with the children of his daughter.

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582 The basis of Yaruro social organization is cross-cousin marriage. Each hunting group tends to consist of one family and other groups hunting nearby are probably closely related to it. The chance of a member of one group meeting members of a group hunting far away from his hunting grounds would be quite insignificant. It would appear, therefore, that a Yaruro man would have the option to marry his sister's, cousins, aunts, grandchildren, and grandparents. Of these it is considered incest to marry his sisters, his mother, and the sisters of his mother, whom he calls mother also, the children of his father's brothers, whom he calls father, and the children of his mother's sisters, whom he calls sister also. The only two classes of women whom he can legitimately marry are the daughters of his mother's brothers and the daughters of his father's sisters. The latter, however, belong to the same moiety as himself and are therefore excluded. His choice is restricted to the daughters of his mother's sisters.

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[616] However, a number of factors may enter to allow a man a wife other than his cross cousins on his mother's side, and in fact in some cases he is forced to marry others than his cross cousins on his mother's side, who may not be available. Theoretically he may marry any of the following: His father's sisters, his father's mother's sisters, his daughters' daughters, his wife's sisters, his wife's mother's sisters, and his wife's mother's mother and her sisters. We find in actual practice that this is done. At Landaeta there was one young man married to a woman of about 40 whom we would call his aunt-in-law, that is, his wife's mother's sister.

587 This class of women whom he is allowed to marry he is also obligated to look after should their husbands die. For instance, should

587 any of his brothers die he falls heir to the brother's wife or wives, who may be sisters or sisters of his own wife; likewise, should his mother's brother die his wife or wives, who is one of the group of his wife's mother's sister, would also become his wife. This system can be made plainer by examining figure 24. By following the moiety relationship one can see just whom the individual is allowed to marry. If it is considered that any of these individuals may actually become his wife, either because there are no other women of his own age group available, or because they have lost their own husbands, and therefore need a protector, the system becomes clear.

IN-LAW RELATIONS

• [591] Cross-cousin marriage being the prevalent type, it means that the son of a man's sister will marry his daughter and come to live with him. As soon as that happens a number of social taboos are imposed on the in-laws. The son-in-law from the time that he marries is prohibited from speaking to his mother-in-law, although he lives with the same hunting group and may even travel in the same canoe with her; he cannot eat before her or even near her; he cannot go close to her, even though his bows and arrows may be lying there; he cannot hand her any object; he cannot make his personal toilet in front of her; he cannot sing or dance close to her; he cannot travel alone with his mother-in-law, and if they are forced to travel together in a canoe with the wife of the son-in-law as one of the party, he takes his position in the bow and the mother-in-law sits in the stern. These taboos are reciprocal. If the two meet in a path they turn aside and go in opposite directions.

606 These taboos are the more remarkable since there are positive duties owed one in-law to the other. The son-in-law is obligated to supply food and protection to his mother-in-law. It is his duty to prepare firewood and bring her materials which she may need to make basketry. It is expected that he will gather delicacies for her, such as honey. On the other hand, his mother-in-law will often prepare food for her son-in-law, will make pouches for him, and show him favors in other ways. But these favors must be transmitted through the wife and daughter, or through other persons. In camp I have seen mother-in-law and son-in-law sitting with backs to each other hour after hour, day after day, never exchanging a word, always averting their eyes from the other's person.

[835] Similar taboos are practiced between the father-in-law and daughter-in-law, but because the girl lives with her parents they weigh less heavily upon her and her father-in-law, since they rarely meet. The taboos, though, are more strictly observed, probably on account of the sexual temptation.

121 harvesting it, require no centralized authority and render it possible and
 182 even probable that the management of production or distribution be carried
 433 on without it. The same may be said, on the whole, for all the hunting,
 [241] fishing, and gathering harvests, a notable and probably permanent feature
 [22] of Yaruro ecology. Perhaps the only crop which has a marked seasonality is
 corn, but its absolute size in the total production, its geographical distribution
 in production, and its position relative to all other harvests renders
 it insignificant as an effective promoter of managerial functions and
 [56] formal arrangements of social stratification. It is unlikely, given Yaruro
 ecology that the forms of surplus would change; consequently their concomitants
 in social structure would remain constant.

On the basis of the formal characteristics of the ecology and of the
 surpluses one may deduce an essentially egalitarian social organization,
 [56] with minimal ranking and leadership and with dispersion of the acts of
 [462] economic distribution among a number of adult males or females any one of
 182 whom may produce a small harvest surplus at any time. With a relatively
 [582] steady and reasonably comfortable total subsistence base, and with ecological
 arrangements which are spatially repeated in identical form up
 and down river, no necessity exists for stringent rules of local exogamy
 as an institution to regulate the labor force by redistributing its members.
 One would expect frequent marrying in the village according to the convenience
 of the contractants, and out-marriages to occur either as economic
 opportunity offered elsewhere or lack of women at home urged one out. The
 [562] combined biological and productive role of women, with their particularly
 important technical roles in gathering and in food preparation, suggest
 sedentary communities and a matrifocal emphasis in the rules of residence.
 However, the importance and location of the men's economic contribution
 • [591] might be expected to balance this to a degree so that one might deduce
 male uxormatrilocal residence but with other, subsidiary patterns. This
 in fact occurs, occasional male matrilocal or patrilocal residence comprising
 [623] the "subsidiary residence rules. Political authority would be vested
 in the community, mainly among its elders, since little or no ranking or
 stratification is to be expected. In fact, Yaruro socio-political forms, in
 general, conform to all of these deduced conditions. They represent a model
 for any society based on the kinds of ecological conditions or form of
 ecology we have described. Where the ecology is even more restricted the
 deduced characteristics should be matched even more closely by the observed
 [171] data. In this respect, the Siriono, for example, tend to confirm the hypothesis,
 in that their partial sedentariness which revolves about horticulture
 is associated with matrifocal social organization: matrilocality and
 matrilineal cross-cousin marriage. They also possess autonomous local
 communities.¹⁸ The Apinayé also tend to confirm the hypothesis.²⁰

Where our analysis permits us to predict about the course of the ecological
 conditions, we should also be able to extend this prediction to the social
 structure. Since, under the given ecology, we can establish a maximum
 population for each Yaruro socio-cultural unit, and under the given technology
 we would expect no significant change in the ecology, no significant

22 1939), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous
241 stand.

114 In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1934) made a
361 census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

241 D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 a, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

241 Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1943, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Mcña area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1938 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along the Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 a).

114 In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at least to 1945 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no
241 more than twelve years after Petruccio's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

114 The second major difference between my findings and those of Petruccio relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities,
591 by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally inmarried husbands.
614 Nowhere in Petruccio is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

114 A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petruccio claims that marriage can
614 only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would

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592 HOUSEHOLD--typical composition (e.g., nuclear or polygamous family, joint or extended family, clan); range, types, and incidence of variations; extent of inclusion of servants, retainers, and dependent relatives (e.g., aged grandparents, parents-in-law); physical seat (e.g., a single small or large dwelling, a cluster of adjacent huts, a compound); functions and cooperative activities of the household unit as such (i.e., irrespective of variations in family composition); locus of authority; rule of succession; mechanism for adjusting disputes within the household; ownership of dwelling, food stores, and household possessions; etc. Functions associated with particular forms of the family rather than with the household as such will be found in separate categories.

See also:

Property	42	Cooperative labor	476
Type of dwelling	342	Slaves	567
Servants	357	Care of aged	737, 888

1: Petrullo

SS19 Yaruro SS19

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/The author refers to a unit which he calls "family hunting group". This unit has been classified under category 62I, since it is never specifically identified with or distinguished from the community. It may (e. g. for camps during the rainy season) occasionally be equivalent to the household.)

791 the universe, his understanding of life and death, of the history of his people and their future, of morality, and of justice. Likewise he was anxious to hear what message I had to bring from my people in respect to these things. So, sitting under the shelter of some branches, we talked. As we talked we both worked. Pablo Reyes kept his hands occupied making string, fixing bows and arrows, and I, when not busy writing, pretended to carve little figures out of wood. The children played about us and Pablo's three wives kept shyly in the background, though listening carefully to what we said and often throwing inquisitive glances in our direction.

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172 Profiting by our proximity to Guiana, I decided to visit Urbana where I could buy some goods for my friends and at the same time gather information about archeology. The wind blew so hard it proved necessary to drag the canoe along the shore of the island until we found the best place for a crossing. The sand was raised in clouds and our bodies were peppered with it so that we were forced to cover up closely. It finally proved impossible to continue and we were forced to stop and camp in the open with our backs to the wind and no shelter except what we could get from our hammocks. But holding them up was as much a hardship as to be bombarded by sand. We made one attempt to cross the Orinoco in the afternoon but we were forced to give it up. Finally, late in the afternoon, putting our trust in "God and the Virgin," as the Venezuelan canoe men say, we launched the canoe and reached La Urbana about midnight. Our stay there was necessarily short and we hastened back to Linda Bara the following day, but I gathered enough from the examination of collections at the Salesian Mission to determine that the archeology on that side of the Orinoco is quite different from that of the llanos.

136 At sunset as we were approaching the island we saw an army of bats in flight. The bats were coming as a cloud out of a Guiana hill in the far distance, and flew directly over us, and across to the other shore of the river, disappearing into the forest. We watched this vast army for about 15 minutes and then continued on our way, not because we had seen the last of the bats, but because time was short. I was told by my guide that this daily flight of the bats from the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco generally lasts two hours. How many thousands of them live in this cave and fly daily to forage for food in the forest is a matter of conjecture. The bat, so plentiful in this region, seems to have inspired the ancient potters of the llanos to use the head as a motif of decoration.

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124 When we reached Pablo Reyes the next day we found there several other Yaruro families, relatives of Pablo, encamped with him. We talked some more, then departed several days later in order to return to Landaeta, who proved to be my best informant.

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along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

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Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

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The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots, seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

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Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

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(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrucci (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Flanagan (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrucci or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf. Loduca, 1922).

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses.

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology.

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributors, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro.

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilineal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilineal, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from

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